

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 PEKING 0724

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (J. BRADEMAS; R. SCHWEIKER)

SUBJECT: CODEL BRADEMAS/SCHWEIKER MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER
HUANG HUA

NOTE: THIS MEMCON HAS NOT BEEN CLEARED WITH THE
CODEL

1. FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF BRADEMAS/SCHWEIKER
MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA AT
NO. 3 GUEST HOUSE, PEKING APRIL 11, 1100-1445 HOURS

2. PARTICIPANTS:

PRC:

HUANG HUA, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HAO TE-CHING, PRESIDENT OF CHINESE PEOPLE'S
INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CPIFA)
TANG WEN-SHENG (NANCY TANG), DEPUTY DIRECTOR
FOR AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN AFFAIRS, MINISTRY
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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KANG TAI-SHA, VICE SECRETARY GENERAL, CPIFA
TIEN TING, DIVISION CHIEF, CPIFA
LIEN CHENG-PAO, DEPUTY DIVISION CHIEF, UNITED
STATES AFFAIRS
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SHIH YEN-HUA, INTERPRETER, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CODEL

REPRESENTATIVE BRADEMAS
SENATOR SCHWEIKER
REPRESENTATIVE CONTE
SENATOR ROTH
REPRESENTATIVE ANDREWS
SENATOR CULVER
REPRESENTATIVE EDWARDS
SENATOR DURKIN
REPRESENTATIVE DANIELSON
REPRESENTATIVE MIKULSKI
MR. CARTER
MR. OKSENBERG, NSC
MR. ROY, DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MR. FREE, WHITE HOUSE
MR. DALPORTO, USSS
MR. HOLMAN, USSS
MR. REIM, USSS

USLO

AMBASSADOR GATES
MR. BROOKS

3. MINISTER HUANG OPENED THE CONVERSATION WITH
THE CUSTOMARY WORDS OF WELCOME. REPRESENTATIVE
BRADEMAS EXPRESSED THANKS, THEN STARTED THE
SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION.
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4. BRADEMAS: THE PRESENCE OF SO MANY SENATORS AND
CONGRESSMEN AND OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S SON INDICATES
THE GREAT IMPORTANCE THE EXECUTIVE AND ELGISLATIVE
BRANCHES OF OUR GOVERNMENT ATTACHES TO RELATIONS
WITH CHINA. BEFORE LEAVING WASHINGTON WE MET WITH
ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, PRESIDENT CARTER'S NATIONAL
SECURITY ADVISOR. HE ASKED US TO CONVEY ON BEHALF
OF HIMSELF AND THE PRESIDENT THREE PARTICULAR
POINTS ABOUT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES,
(1) WE REGARD U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHINA NOT SOLELY
AS REGIONAL BUT AS CRUCIAL IN OUR GLOBAL FOREIGN
POLICY.

(2) THE U.S. BELIEVES ITS RELATIONS WITH THE
PRC TO BE CRITICAL FACTOR FOR STABILITY IN THE
WORLD, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE RELATIONS
OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO THE SOVIET UNION.

(3) WE BELIEVE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRC
TO BE A CHECK AGAINST ADVENTURISM AND IMPERIALISM IN
THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY IN AFRICA.

5. MR. FOREIGN MINISTER, WE HAVE MANY QUESTIONS AND
YOUR TIME IS VALUABLE. I WOULD LIKE TO ARTICULATE
THREE OR FOUR ON WHICH WE WOULD BE GRATEFUL
FOR YOUR COMMENT.

(1) WE WOULD LIKE YOUR COMMENT ON ARMS CONTROL
TALKS BETWEEN THE US AND USSR.

(2) YOUR REACTION TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S EMPHASIS
ON HUMAN RIGHTS AS A NEW DETERMINANT IN US POLICY.

(3) YOUR RESPONSE TO OUR PLEA THAT THERE
BE SUBSTANTIAL EXPANSION OF EDUCATIONAL AND
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CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN OUR TWO
COUNTRIES AND PARTICULARLY OUR SUGGESTION THAT
THERE BE A VISIT OF A HIGH-LEVEL FIGURE FROM YOUR
COUNTRY SUCH AS CHAIRMAN HUA OR YOURSELF.

(4) FINALLY TO GIVE YOU TIME TO REFLECT, AND TO
DEMONSTRATE THE BIPARTISAN NATURE OF THE DELEGATION,
AS A DEMOCRAT I YIELD TO MY REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUE,
SENATOR SCHWEIKER, FOR COMMENT.

6. SCHWEIKER: I WANT TO STRONGLY SUPPORT OUR
CHAIRMAN'S EXPRESSION ABOUT YOUR EXCELLENT
HOSPITALITY AND TO THANK YOU. SECOND, AS A
REPUBLICAN, ALTHOUGH FROM A DIFFERENT PARTY, I
STRONGLY SUPPORT THE THREE POINTS ABOUT THE KEY ROLE
CHINA PLAYS IN OUR GLOBAL FOREIGN POLICY.
FINALLY, ONE FURTHER QUESTION: WHAT FUTURE PLANS
ARE THERE FOR NUCLEAR TESTING BY THE CHINESE
GOVERNMENT?

7. HUANG: WHEN TALKING ABOUT THESE QUESTIONS,
ESPECIALLY THE SALT TALKS BETWEEN THE US AND SOVIET
UNION, WE CAN'T LEAVE OUT THE GENERAL SITUATION
IN THE WORLD BECAUSE SALT TALKS BETWEEN THE US
AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE BEING CARRIED OUT IN THE
CONTEXT OF THE GENERAL SITUATION IN THE WORLD.
IN OUR TERMS, TO PUT IT IN THE SIMPLEST WAY, THE
PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IS CHARACTERIZED
BY GREAT DISORDER UNDER HEAVEN AND THE SITUATION IS
EXCELLENT. THE TWO THINGS MAY SEEM CONTRADICTORY BUT
THEY SHOW THE ESSENCE OF THE GENERAL SITUATION IN

THE WORLD. ONE CAN UNDERSTAND OUR THESIS ONLY
FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF WORLD STRATEGY. THERE ARE
MANY FACTORS THAT PERTAIN TO GREAA DISORDER UNDER
HEAVEN. THE MOST IMPORTANT ONE IS THE RIVALRY
BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. THE US HAS ITS
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INTERESTS TO PROTECT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHILE
THE SOVIET UNION IS CARRYING OUT INTERNATIONAL
EXANSION. THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS CAN NOT BE
ALTERED. THE RIVALRY BETWEEN THE US AND SOVIET
UNION HAS BECOME MORE INTENSE AND FACTORS FOR WAR
HAVE VISIBLY GROWN.

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8. RIVALRY WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO THE OUTBREAK OF
WORLD WAR. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL
SITUATION IS INDEPENDENT OF MAN'S WILL. NEITHER
THE US NOR THE USSR COULD POSSIBLY CHANGE ITS PRESENT
QUALITIES. YOU WILL NOT GIVE UP YOUR SPHERES OF
INFLUENCE OR YOUR VESTED INTERESTS AND THE SOVIET
UNION WON'T CEASE ITS EFFORTS TO EXPAND ITS
INFLUENCE. THE SOVIET UNION IS TRYING TO SQUEEZE
THE US OUT OF VARIOUS AREAS. DISARMAMENT, DETENTE
AND SALT ARE VARIOUS FORMS TAKEN TO CONTINUE THIS
RIVALRY. IN NEGOTIATION EACH SIDE TRIES TO IMPROVE
ITS POSITION. NEITHER WILL ACCEPT
CONCESSION OR SUBMIT TO A POSITION OF DEFEAT.

DISARMAMENT HAS NEVER SUCCEEDED IN HISTORY. THIS WAS THE CASE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR. IT STILL HOLDS TRUE TODAY. TAKE THE SALT TALKS FOR EXAMPLE. SINCE BLADIVOSTOK UP UNTIL NOW THE STRATEGIC WEAPONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US HAVE INCREASED AND WEAPONS HAVE BECOME MORE ACCURATE INSTEAD OF BEING REDUCED AND WEAKENED. THIS IS A FACT NO ONE CAN DENY. WHETHER OR NOT THE SALT TALKS BETWEEN THE US AND SOVIET UNION SUCCEED WILL NOT ALTER THE BASIC SITUATION OF RIVALRY BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES EVEN IF YOU CAN REACH SOME AGREEMENT.
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MENTS. AN AGREEMENTS AMOUNTS TO JUST AN EMPTY PIECE OF PAPER.

9. IN THE CONTEXT OF US-SOVIET RIVALRY WE THINK THAT THE US ASSUMES A DEFENSIVE POSTURE AND THE SOVIETS AN OFFENSIVE POSTURE. AFTER WORLD WAR TWO AND ESPECIALLY AFTER THE END OF THE INDO-CHINA WAR THE POSITION OF THE US HAS BEEN WEAKENED. THEREFORE, THE US HAS ASSUMED A DEFENSIVE POSITION IN ITS RIVALRY WITH THE SOVIET UNION. YOU ARE CONTRACTING YOUR LINE IN AN EFFORT TO MAINTAIN YOUR VESTED INTEREST VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIET UNION IS VIGOROUSLY PURSUING A POLICY OF AGGRESSION AND EXPANSION AND IS CONTENDING FOR WORLD HEGEMONY. IT IS SWASHBUCKLING AND MOST AGGRESSIVE. BECAUSE OF ALL THIS WE THINK THAT AT PRESENT THE MAIN DANGER OF WAR COMES FROM THE SOVIET UNION. IN THE FACT OF SOVIET EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION THERE IS A TREND OF THOUGHT IN THE WEST WHICH WE CALL APPEASEMENT. IT TRIES TO DIVERT THE SOVIET THREAT TO THE EAST AND TOWARD CHINA SO IT WILL BE ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT. IN ORDER TO ATTAIN THIS GOAL, THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE WAS HELD AT WHICH YOU RECOGNIZED THE STATUS QUO THAT EASTERN EUROPE IS WITHIN THE GREATER EMPIRE OF THE SOVIET UNION. YOU ALSO HAVE GIVEN LARGE QUANTITIES OF GRAIN AND TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT TO THE SOVIET UNION IN AN EFFORT TO REDUCE THE VIGOR OF THE SOVIET OFFENSIVE. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADVENTURISM IN THE WORLD HAS CLEARLY PROVED WHETHER THIS POLICY HAS SUCCEEDED OR FAILED. AS A RESULT OF YOUR TALKS ABOUT DISARMAMENT SOVIET STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS HAVE INCREASED SUBSTANTIALLY; IN THE PAST DECADE THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES HAVE GROWN BY ABOUT A MILLION. THE SOVIET UNION HAS BECOME BOLDER IN ITS EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION.

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AFTE HELSINKI IT MADE USE OF CUBAN FORCES WHICH WERE MOVED A LONG DISTANCE TO INTERFERE IN ANGOLA. RECENTLY IT HAS MADE USE OF ANGOLA TO EMPLOY "NEW MERCENARIES" TO INTERFERE WITH THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE. IN OUR VIEW THE POLICY OF APPEASEMENT IS IN THE CHINESE SAYING, LIKE NURTURING THE TIGER TO FINALLY BRING PERIL ON ONE'S SELF. ALSO CONTRIBUTING TO STRENGTHENING THE TIGER, ONE WHO NOURISHES A TIGER WILL END UP MISERABLY. ON THE OTHER HAND THIS KIND OF POLICY OF APPEASEMENT AND DTEENTE WILL SLACKEN THE VIGILANCE OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE AGAINST SOVIET IMPERIALISM. CONTINUATION OF THIS POLICY WILL ONLY DISARM WESTERN EUROPE AND THE U.S. POLITICALLY AND IN MORALE; IT WILL CREATE CONDITIONS IN WHICH YOU WILL FURTHER SUBMIT TO THE PRESSURES OF THE SOVIET UNION. I HAVE TOLD MY FRIENDS FROM THE UNITED STATES, SOVIET POLICY IS TO FEINT IN THE EAST AND ATTACK IN THE WEST. THE SOVIETS BULLY THE SOFT AND FEAR THE TOUGH. THE SOVIET UNION HAS STATIONED ABOUT ONE MILLION TROOPS EAST OF THE URAL MOUNTAINS AS WELL AS ALONG CHINA'S BORDERS. THREE-FOURTHS OF THE SOVIET FORCES ARE DIRECTED AGAINST THE WEST. AS FOR THE ONE MILLION TROOPS EAST OF THE URALS, WHICH TARGET ARE THEY DIRECTED AGAINST? ONE MUST STUDY THIS QUESTION SERIOUSLY. THE MAIN OPPONENT OF THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT CHINA; IT IS THE US. BECAUSE CHINA DOESN'T SEEK WORLD HEGEMONY, OUR POLICY IS TO DIG TUNNELS DEEP, STORE GRAIN EVERYWHERE AND NEVER SEEK HEGEMONY. THERE IS AMPLE EVIDENCE THAT THE MAIN OPPONENT OF THE SOVIETS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR WORLD HEGEMONY IS NOT CHINA BUT THE US. THE CORE OF SOVIET AND US POLICY IS RIVALRY AFOR WORLD HEGEMONY. ONE CAN GRASP THE ESSENCE OF THE MATTER ONLY BY BEARING THIS POINT IN MIND. IN OUR VIEW THE ONE MILLION SOVIET TROOPS ARE PRIMARILY DIRECTED AGAINST THE US IN THE PACIFIC, THEN AGANST JAPAN AND CHINA. OF COURSE, THIS DOESN'T MEAN THERE IS NO SOVIET

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THREAT TO CHINA. WHEREVER THERE IS A CHANCE OR WHENEVER WE SLACKEN OUR VIGILANCE THE SOVIETS WILL ZEIZE THE CHANCE TO INTERFERE IN AND SUBVERT CHINA. WE ARE PREPARED FOR ANY SOVIET AGGRESSION AT ANY TIME. WE ARE PREPARED FOR WAR. EVEN IF THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD LAUNCH AGGRESSIVE ATTACKS AGAINST CHINA, NOT

EVEN TWO MILLION TROOPS WOULD BE ENOUGH. THEY WILL BE SUBMERGED IN THE GREAT OCEAN OF PEOPLE'S WARFARE. ONCE IN CHINESE TERRITORY THEY WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO GET OUT. THEREFORE WE SAY THE SOVIET UNION IS MAKING A FEINT IN THE EAST WHILE ATTACKING IN THE WEST. THE FOCUS OF ITS ATTACK IS EUROPE. THIS IS THE CONCLUSION DRAWN FROM OUR SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE

STATUS OF SOVIET-US RELATIONS. AT PRESENT THE GREATEST DANGER TO THE WEST ISN'T THE FEROCITY OF SOVIET EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION, SINCE THE SOVIET UNION IS BEST WITH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DIFFICULTIES. IT HAS WILD AMBITIONS BUT LACKS THE STRENGTH TO FULFILL THEM. I CAN ILLUSTRATE THIS. FOR EXAMPLE, CLASS CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES IN THE USSR ARE AGGRAVATING. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE USSR IS NOT GOOD. THE SOVIET UNION HAS DEVELOPED ITS WAR AND RELATED INDUSTRIES MOST WIDELY. AS A RESULT THERE HAS BEEN DISPROPORTIONATE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY. LIGHT INDUSTRY

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CORRECTED COPY (PARA 10)

AND INDUSTRY FOR THE SUPPLY OF DIRE NECESSITIES ARE BACKWARD. AGRICULTURE IS IN A MESS. SUCH A LARGE COUNTRY MUST RELY ON IMPORTED FOOD GRAINS TO FEED THE PEOPLE. THE SOVIET UNION'S FATAL WEAKNESS IS IN THE ECONOMY. THE THREAT THAT EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WILL DRIFT AWAY IS GROWING. AS A RESULT OF SOVIET EXPLOITATION AND CONTROL THERE IS GROWING RESISTANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION IN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

THE FEATURES OF SOVIET SOCIALIST IMPERIALISM, OF CARRYING OUT AGGRESSION AND EXPANSION WHILE TALKING ABOUT DETENTE AND WHILE ACTUALLY MAKING WAR PREPARATIONS, HAVE BEEN SEEN THROUGH BY MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AND THE SOVIET UNION IS NOW INCREASINGLY ISOLATED AMONG THE WORLD'S PEOPLE. SO IN OUR JUDGMENT THE SOVIET SUPERPOWER IS BUT A PAPER TIGER. THERE IS NOTHING TERRIBLE ABOUT IT BUT IN THE WEST MANY COUNTRIES FEAR THE SOVIET UNION. THEY SUFFER FROM A FEAR PSYCHOLOGY. THERE ARE NO GROUNDS FOR THIS FEAR. WE THINK THE GREATEST TROUBLE IN THE WEST IS DUE TO NOT TELLING THE TRUTH TO THE PEOPLE ABOUT SOVIET AGGRESSION AND EXPANSION AND THE DANGER OF WAR AND ONLY TALKING ABOUT DISARMAMENT AND DETENTE. THIS WILL LEAD TO LOSS OF SUPPORT OF

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THE PEOPLE IN THE FACE OF SOVIET AGGRESSION AND EXPANSION AND TO DISINTEGRATION OF THE WESTERN ALLIES. SO FAR AS THE WEST IS CONCERNED THERE IS NOTHING TO FEAR ABOUT SOVIET FEROCITY. THE WEST SHOULD FEAR APPEASEMENT, A NEW MUNICH POLICY. THE SONENFELDT DOCTRINE, KNOWN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, IS THE AMERICAN EDITION OF A NEW MUNICH POLICY.

10. US/PRC RELATIONS. NOW AS FOR THE QUESTION OF CHINA-US RELATIONS. IN 1972 PRESIDENT NIXON VISITED CHINA, THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WAS ISSUED AND CONTACTS BETWEEN THE TWO PEOPLES, SUSPENDED FOR TWO DECADES, THEREFORE RESUMED. THERE HAS BEEN GRADUAL PROGRESS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES SINCE THEN. NOW RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE US ARE BETTER THAN IN THE YEARS BEFORE 1972. BUT A CRUCIAL QUESTION IN SINO-US RELATIONS REMAINS OUTSTANDING--THAT IS THE ISSUE OF TAIWAN. TAIWAN IS CHINESE TERRITORY. THE TAIWAN PEOPLE ARE CHINESE PEOPLE. THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN PEOPLE IS AN INTERNAL CHINESE AFFAIR IN WHICH NO FOREIGN COUNTRY HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE. WHEN AND HOW WE LIBERATE TAIWAN IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR OF CHINA. SINCE THERE IS A BUNCH OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES ON TAIWAN IT SEEMS IMPERATIVE TO RESORT TO ARMS TO LIBERATE TAIWAN. SOME AMERICANS ARE ALWAYS THINKING OF CREATING TWO CHINAS. THEY WANT TO ASK CHINA TO UNDERTAKE THE OBLIGATION NOT TO USE FORCE. THIS IS INTERFERENCE IN CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS WHICH WE CAN NEVER ACCEPT. IT RUNS DIAMETRICALLY COUNTER TO THE PRINCIPLES IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AGREED TO BE THE TWO SIDES. TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS, THE TAIWAN ISSUE MUST BE SETTLED. OUR POSITION IS CLEAR-CUT:

1) THE US MUST SDBER DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE CHIANG CLIQUE IN TAIWAN.

2) IT MUST WITHDRAW ALL MILITARY FORCES AND INSTALLATIONS.

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3) IT MUST ABROGATE ITS DEFENSE TREATY WITH THE CHIANG CLIQUE.
NO ONE OF THESE THREE CONDITIONS IS DISPENSABLE. IN SINO-US RELATIONS,

IF THE TAIWAN

ISSUE IS NOT SETTLED, TRADE, CULTURAL AND OTHER EXCHANGES WILL BE SOMEWHAT LIMITED. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SEE A BIG INCREASE IN THESE EXCHANGES. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR CHINA TO SEND HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS TO VISIT THE U.S. THE REASON IS SIMPLE; THE CHIEF OF USLO, MR. GATES, KNOWS IT WELL. IN PEKING THERE IS O OTHER U.S. EMBASSY. IN WASHINGTON THERE IS A CHIANG CLIQUE EMBASSY. HOW IS IT POSSIBLE FOR CHINA TO SEND A HIGH-RANKING OFFICIAL TO THE U.S. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES?

11. AFRICA. NOW I WILL SPEAK BRIEFLY ABOUT AFRICA. THE SITUATION IN AFRICA IS GOOD. AFTER WORLD WAR II 46 AFRICAN COUNTRIES GOT THEIR INDEPENDENCE. IT IS A GREAT CONTINENT, ACTIVE IN THE WORLD AREAN AND PLAYING AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ROLE. AFRICA IS STRIVING FOR COMPLETE LIBERATION OF THE CONTINENT. IT WILL FINALLY ATTAIN THIS GOAL AND WIN THE VICTORY. CHINA HAS NO SPECIAL INTERESTS IN AFRICA TO SEEK OR RIGHTS TO PROTECT. WE DEMAND NO PRIVILEGES. OUR INTEREST IN AFRICA IS TO SUPPORT AFRICAN STATES AND PEOPLE AGAINST THE RIVALRIES OF THE SUPERPOWERS AND AGAINST THE EXPANSIONISM AND AGGRESSION OF THE SUPERPOWERS, AND TO SUPPORT TOTAL LIBERATIN OF THE CONTINENT. OUR BASIC POSITION AND MOTIVES CONCERNING AFRICA ARE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE US, AND THE OTHER SUPERPOWER. IN AFRICA ONE SUPERPOWER IS CARRY-ING OUT EXPANSIONISM AND AGGRESSIVENESS AND THE OTHER IS TRYING TO PRESERVE ITS VESTED INTEREST. THERE IS ONE OTHER POINT OF COMMON CONCERN: SOVIET EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION. AFTER ANGOLA THE SOVIETS HAVE GOTTEN FURTHER INTO ZAIRE. IN MY VIEW THE
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SOVIETS' USE OF MERCENARIES TO INVADE ZAIRE IS PART OF THEIR ACTIONS TO GRAB WORLD HEGEMONY. IT IS NOT ISOLATED OR ACCIDENTAL. IF WE LINK THE SOVIETS'

ACTIONS IN THE TWO COUNTRIES TO THE PODGORNÝ AND
CASTRO VISITS WE CAN SEE THE SOVIETS HAVE STARTED A
NEW ROUND OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY OFFENSIVES IN
AFRICA. WE HAVE STATED THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT'S
AND PEOPLE'S POSITION CLEARLY. WE SUPPORT THE TWO
PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES
AGAINST THE EXPANSION AND AGGRESSIVE ACTS OF THE
SOVIET UNION. IN THIS RESPECT I CAN TELL YOU THAT
IN THE PAST FEW DAYS WE RECEIVED MRS. THATCHER, LEADER
OF THE OPPOSITION IN GREAT BRITAIN. SHE SAID IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA THE SOVIET UNION HAS OBVIOUSLY GAINED
MILITARY BASES IN ANGOLA. ALL THIS CONSTITUTES A
THREAT TO EUROPE IN PEACE OR WAR. THE SOVIET UNION
CAN CUT OFF LINES OF COMMUNICATION IN THE SOUTH
ATLANTIC AND LINES OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS FOR

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C O R R E C T E D COPY-TEXT (PARA 13. LINE EIGHT)

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. WE THINK THAT IN ANGOLA AND
ZAIRE THE US RESPONSE HAS BEEN VERY WEAK. THIS WILL
ONLY LEAD TO INFLATING THE AMBITIONS OF THE SOVIETS
FOR EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION. CONCERNING AFRICA,
AS OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE DIFFERENT POSITIONS AND
MOTIVES, WE CAN ONLY ACT IN OUR OWN WAY. YOU REGARD
THE VORSTER AND SMITH REGIMES AS FORCES TO BE RELIED
ON IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE THINK THAT THIS IS NOT IN THE
STRATEGIC INTEREST OF THE US. THE VORSTER AND SMITH
REGIMES ARE NOT A PLUS BUT A MINUS FOR THE WEST.
IN AFRICA IF THE US AND THE WEST DON'T ADOPT A POLICY
IN SUPPORT OF REALIZING MAJORITY AFRICAN RULE IN
RHODESIA AND LIBERATION OF THE AFRICANS IN SOUTH

AFRICA, THIS WILL ONLY GIVE THE SOVIET UNION A CHANCE TO MISLEAD AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND PEOPLE AND CARRY OUT EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION. THERE HAVE BEEN CONDITIONS OF SUCH INSTANCES BECAUSE YOUR ACTIONS WILL ONLY IRRITATE THE AFRICAN STATES AND PEOPLES AND HALF-HEARTEDNESS CAN'T SOLVE ANY QUESTIONS IN AFRICA.

12. NUCLEAR TESTING

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SENATOR SCHWEIKER ASKED ABOUT CHINA'S PLAN FOR NUCLEAR TESTING. AS YOU KNOW CHINA HAS BEEN DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION AND US HAVE FRANKLY DEVELOPED THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. USED THEM AS A MEANS OF NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL AND POSED THREATS TO THE CHINESE AND OTHER PEOPLES.

13. WHEN CHINA CARRIED OUT ITS FIRST NUCLEAR EXPLOSION, IT STATED CLEARLY THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT BE THE FIRST TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. CHINESE TESTING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE FOR THE PURPOSE OF BREAKING A NUCLEAR MONOPOLY OF THE SUPER POWERS. OUR FINAL GOALS IS COMPLETE PROHIBITION AND THOROUGH DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE ONCE PROPOSED CONVENING A CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE PROPOSED AS A FIRST STEP THAT THE NUCLEAR POWERS PLEDGE NOT TO BE FIRST TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ESPECIALLY AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR COUNTRIES, SO THAT WE CAN PROCEED ON COMPLETE PROHIBITION AND THE DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM ANY THREAT. NEITHER THE US NOR THE SOVIET UNION HAS GIVEN ANY RESPONSE TO THE PROPOSAL.

14. ON THE CONTRARY DISCUSSIONS ARE BEING CARRIED OUT ON THE SO-CALLED COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN. ITS PURPOSE IS VERY CLEAR, TO TRY TO PRESERVE THE NUCLEAR MONOPOLY OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AND DEPRIVE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE RIGHT TO DEVELOP THEIR ONLY NUCLEAR WEAPONS. I HAVE TAKEN TOO MUCH TIME. WE CAN PERHAPS CONTINUE OUR TALK AT THE LUNCHEON TABLE.

15. (IN THE COURSE OF HIS TOAST AT LUNCHEON, CONGRESSMAN BRADEMAS EXPRESSED THE WISH TO CALL ON TWO OR THREE MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WHO HAD NOT SPOKEN

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DURING THE SESSION BEFORE LUNCH).

16. SENATOR CULVER: MR. MINISTER, YOU EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION. THIS IS NOT A NOVEL CONCERN FOR OUR COUNTRY. IT HAS BEEN A CHARACTERISTIC OF AMERICAN POLICY SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II. IN VIEW OF YOUR CONCERN FOR SOVIET EXPANSION MAY I ASK WHY YOUR GOVERNMENT DIRECTED TO RETURN 17 SOVIET HELICOPTER PILOTS TO THE SOVIET UNION AFTER THEY INVADED YOUR AIR SPACE. REGARDING SOVIET ACTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA, I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT IS YOUR POSITION CONCERNING AN ACTIVE CHINESE GOVERNMENT ROLE IN ANGOLA.

17. MIKULSKI: I HAVE A QUESTION ABOUT PRESIDENT CARTER'S STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS THIS STAND IS TO UPHOLD THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO ASK ALL COUNTRIES WE DO BUSINESS WITH TO ASSUME THESE PRINCIPLES. MAY I ASK WHAT IS YOUR REACTION TOWARD THIS. I TOO WANT TO THANK THE FOREIGN MINISTER FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT CHINA.

18. DURKIN: I HAVE TWO QUESTIONS, THERE ARE MANY MISCONCEPTIONS OF CHINA IN THE US JUST AS THERE ARE OF THE U.S. IN CHINA. ONE QUESTION IS ABOUT TAIWAN AND THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. HAVE YOU CONSIDERED HAVING A U.S. EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION CREW TO COME AND FILM SOME OF THE THINGS WE HAVE SEEN? WHILE THE TAIWAN ISSUE HAS BECOME A POLITICAL PROBLEM IN OUR COUNTRY, NOTHING IS AS EFFECTIVE AS TELEVISION FOR EDUCATING THE PUBLIC. SECOND, IN LIGHT OF THE CONVERSATION THIS MORNING HOW DO YOU RESPOND TO THE OBSERVATION THAT CHINA IS CONTENT TO LET THE U.S. AND SOVIETS SPEND AND SPEND ON ARMS AND RIVALRY AND GO TOWARD CHAOS AS A RESULT OF THE ACCELERATED ARMS RACE.

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19. HUANG: THE RELEASE OF THE SOVIET HELICOPTER PILOTS WAS A MINOR MATTER. THE SOVIET HELICOPTERS INVADED CHINESE AIR SPACE. AFTER INVESTIGATING WE SAW NO FURTHER COMPLICATION SO WE RELEASED THEM.

20. SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS ARE NOT GOOD AT PRESENT BUT NOT EXTREMELY BAD. OUR POLICY IS TO CARRY ON

A DEBATE ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE FOR A LONG TIME.
WE WILL NOT YIELD ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE BUT
DIFFERENCES ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE SHOULD NOT HAMPER
THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORE NORMAL CONTACTS OF THE BASIS
OF THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

21. CONCERNING SOUTHERN AFRICA CHINA ONCE SUPPORTED
ALL THREE LIBERAL FACTIONS IN ANGOLA. WE GAVE ALL
THREE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE BECAUSE AT THAT TIME THEY
WERE STRUGGLING AGAINST PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM BUT
LATER WHEN CIVIL WAR BROKE OUT WE STOPPED OUR ASSIST-
ANCE TO THE THREE FACTIONS. I THINK THE CIVIL WAR
IN ANGOLA WAS CAUSED BY THE SOVIETS SENDING MERCENARIES
WITH SOVIET SUPPORT. THESE MERCENARIES SUPPORTED
ONE FACTION
AGAINST THE OTHER TWO. AT THAT TIME WE
THOROUGHLY EXPOSED AND STRONGLY CONDEMNED THE SOVIET
INSTIGATION OF CUBAN MERCENARIES TO INTERFERE IN
ANGOLA. UP TO NOW WE HAVE NOT RECOGNIZED THE MPLA
GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA. WE DO NOT INTEND TO DO SO IN
THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE BECAUSE IF WE DID IT WOULD
BE TANTAMOUNT TO THE SUPERPOWERS AE OF MERCENARIES
TO INTERFERE IN ANGOLA. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS
TAKEN A CLEAR-CUT STAND TOWARD THE INVASION OF THE TWO
AFRICAN COUNTRIES NOT LONG AGO. AS FOR OTHER
PARTS OFSOUTHERN AFRICA WE HAVE ALWAYS GIVEN AND
WE WILL CONTINUE TO GIVE POLITICAL, MORAL, AND
MATERIAL SUPPORT TO THE OTHER MOVEMENTS FIGHTING
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LIBERATION. THEREFORE I CONSIDER IT IS NOT AN ACCURATE STATEMENT TO SAY CHINA HAS WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT IS NOT ACCURATE TO SAY CHINA HAS WITHDRAWN ITS ACTIVE SUPPORT TO SOUTHERN AFRICA.

22. HUMAN RIGHTS. IN RESPONSE TO REP. MIKULSKI'S QUESTION ABOUT CHINA'S REACTION TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S POLICY.) PEOPLE ARE NOT JUST AN ABSTRACT TERM. THEY FALL INTO DIFFERENT CLASSES, AND RIGHTS ARE DIFFERENT IN THE CASES OF DIFFERENT CLASSES. AS FOR THE SOVIET UNION, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS OPPRESSING AND EXPLOITING THE BROAD MASSES OF THE LABORING PEOPLE AND THE MAJORITY OF THE LABORING PEOPLE HAVE NO RIGHTS. IN ORDER TO CHANGE THE PRESENT SITUATION WHERE THE SOVIET UNION IS UNDER FASCIST RULE AT HOME AND EXPANSION ABROAD, THE SOVIET PEOPLE MUST RISE UP. THE QUESTION IS NOT ONE OF HUMAN RIGHTS BUT OF REVOLUTION.

23. AS FOR RIVALRY BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US IN ARMS, THIS IS NOT A MATTER CHINA CAN DECIDE. IT IS A MATTER FOR THE US AND SOVIET UNION TO DECIDE. AS EXPLAINED IN THIS MORNING'S DISCUSSION THE US HAS VESTED INTERESTS TO PROTECT; THE USSR IS CARRYING OUT EXPANSION. THIS IS INDEPENDENT OF MAN'S WILL. IN THE FACE OF THIS REALITY SHOULD ONE ADOPT APPEASE-
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MENT TO DIVERT THE SPEARHEAD OF SOVIET AGGRESSION? OR SHOULD WE UNITE WITH ALL FORCES OPPOSED TO SOVIET EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION. THIS IS A QUESTION WORTH CONSIDERING. AS I SAID JUST NOW, A POLICY OF APPEASEMENT CAN'T ALTER THE FACE OF SOVIET STRATEGY. IT WILL ONLY ENCOURAGE SOVIET AGGRESSION AND EXPANSION. IN THE END THOSE WHO PURSUE A POLICY OF APPEASEMENT WILL ONLY SUFFER THEMSELVES. ANGOLA IS AN OUTCOME OF APPEASEMENT. ZAIRE IS ANOTHER ONE. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER I ANSWERED THE QUESTIONS PUT FORWARD.

24. CULVER: YOU SAY IT IS INCORRECT TO SAY CHINA HAS WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA. I SAY YOU ARE INCORRECT TO RAISE US POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS ONE OF SUPPORTING THE SMITH REGIME IN RHODESIA AND VORSTER IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE PARTICIPATE IN THE EMBARGO ON RHODESIA. WE GIVE NO MILITARY AID TO VORSTER. WE SUPPORT MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA. APPEASEMENT

IN THE CASE OF ANGOLA IS A RESPONSIBILITY THAT
AT A MINIMUM MORE THAN ONE COUNTRY MUST ASSUME. WE
NEED MORE THAN RHETORIC TO RESIST THE EXPANSION OF
THE SOVIET UNION.

25. DURKIN: IN YOUR REPLY YOU STRESSED THAT THE
PROTECTION OF US INTERESTS AND THE US RIVALRY WITH
THE SOVIETS PUT ON ON AN UNALTERABLE COURSE. YOU
ALSO SAID ALL FORCES EXPOSED TO THE EXPANSION OF
THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD UNITE. DID I CATCH THE
IMPLICATION THAT THE US AND CHINA SHOULD EXPLORE
THE POSSIBILITY OF AN AGREEMENT BY WHICH WE COULD
OPPOSE THE EXPANSION OF THE SOVIETS.

26. HUANG: I HAVE NOTHING TO ADD CONCERNING SOUTH
AFRICA. REGARDING SENATOR DURKIN'S COMMENT I DID NOT
IMPLY THAT CHINA SHOULD SEEK AN AGREEMENT WITH THE
US. I ONLY TRIED TO EXPLAIN THAT ON THIS QUESTION,
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AND TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, OUR TWO SIDES MAY HAVE SOME
COMMON VIEWS AND FACE COMMON PROBLEMS. I CONSIDER
THIS TO BE A QUESTION OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE. ...IN
THE OVER-ALL GLOBAL SITUATION THE US AND USSR ARE THE
SOURCES OF UNREST. OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS THE SOVIETS
ARE THE MAIN SOURCE OF THE DANGER OF WAR; THEREFORE
ALL FORCES EXPOSED TO SOVIET AGGRESSION AND EXPANSION
SHOULD TELL THE PEOPLE OF THE DANGER AND ADOPT A
COMMON POLICY OF RESISTANCE TO DEAL WITH THE THREAT.
THIS IS IMPERATIVE FOR ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD--NOT
JUST THE US AND CHINA--INCLUDING YOUR ALLIES IN WEST
EUROPE. CONTRARY TO THIS, AN APPEASEMENT POLICY AND
THE SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE WILL ONLY BRING PERIL ON
OURSELVES AND STRENGTHEN THE TIGER. IN OUR OLD
CHINESE SAYING THEY WILL ONLY LIFT A ROCK TO HAVE
THEIR OWN TOES CRUSHED.

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